

Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually [59] brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumai village who was half Kamayurá. Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumai man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function
648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are
cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumai were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumai were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by
648 certain Trumai men for particular tribes. While most men said that
186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as
186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host
574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [59] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they [602] slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

Specialization and Trade

- 439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumai traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy.
- [438] At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumai stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumai were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumai depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.²⁰
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While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairi obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batovi River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumai relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity.

- [602] The Trumai could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites.
- [881] The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumai village no pottery was made,

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²⁰ Oberg 1963, p. 30.

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumai, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumai were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumai were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

431 on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son
602 and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared,
[261] and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

424 Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and
428 gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions
533 of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the
[768] office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatein, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, [584] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

437 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community
517 distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social
524 participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumai society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumai village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirzo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirzo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one [574] of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered. 437
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All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumai. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was. [431]

Within the Trumai village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie. 425
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Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men. 562
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The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party. [123]
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The trade game reflected the Trumai attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was 421
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592 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was
578 probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family
571 existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two
578 houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the
592 people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house.
Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved
from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two
other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to
this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there
592 were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari,
602 on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this
moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu
and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá,
whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumai type.
It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the
smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguin-
eal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children,
was still the basic unit of Trumai society and economy. The biological
family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the pre-
viously outlined framework of individualized production and division
of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family.
The Trumai showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for
other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but
the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the
young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest
of the household.

[513] The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were
strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless,
593 with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their
leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit
in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and
she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short
[832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play
often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa
156 spent more time together and showed more affection than did other
couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

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Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumai village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumai, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumai, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumai system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.³

Term	Quain	Oberg ⁴	Wagley ⁵
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi*		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	ahéat* (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.) apisi (m. or w. sp.)	ha-héat* (m. sp.) ha-pisi (w. sp.) ha-pisi (m. or w. sp.)
older brother			ha-dufle (m. sp.)
sister	hatdifle	tain (m. sp.)	
younger sister	ta'yj	takwai (w. sp.) apisi (m. or w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w. sp.) ha-pisi (w. sp.)
older sister			

³ The three lists of Trumai kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumai. Oberg says nothing about his Trumai informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergences, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumai society.

⁴ Oberg 1953, p. 119.

⁵ Wagley, personal communication.

* The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumai first person possessive.

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[186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.^a

582 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the
585 Trumai and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his
837 wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the
587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed
[44] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ee* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not
[83] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between
684 older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing
835 such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but
602 they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially
831 approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and
605 good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-
831 cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house.
123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to
602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out
831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

^a Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumai found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumai, because, as they said, they felt *vally* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumai village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumai man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.

The Trumai were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *dela a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

¹ This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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[755] clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the
[276] curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

[757] Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men
[824] knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught
[759] by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ring-worm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

[602] Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his
[759] daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. [465] Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumai. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

[755] The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*ke-*
[796] *vere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre. [123]

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. [562] No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat. [123]

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumai security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumai once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,⁴ perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumai organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayura;⁴ and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumai could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumai gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumai did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumai society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumai social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumai, a household similar to that of the Kamayura, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumai death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumai society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

⁴ Oberg 1963, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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174 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals
571 could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no
602 relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-
law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger
606 married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives.
[582] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-
cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage
[598] of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a con-
solidator of kinship bonds.

105 Not only was the family world of the Trumai crumbling, but all lines
182 of authority and social control were weak. The Trumai seemed unable
626 to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation
or hospitality. Trumai leadership, like that of many primitive peoples,
was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic
interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These
preconditions were no longer found among the Trumai. In this struc-
[621] tural vacuum, the Trumai chief was less and less able to cope with the
growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced
into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed
182 within the Trumai village. Some are a function of personality, others of
578 the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and
many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant com-
petition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic.
Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of
kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition
and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more
normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal
forces of cohesion held the Trumai community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumai culture were also disappear-
[696] ing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many
elements in the Trumai ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the
105 highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious
182 expression in Trumai culture). In part, this loss may have been due to
771 the inability of the Trumai to amass a sufficiently large food surplus
for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were
present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumai to warrant
any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial
participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the
minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had
depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the re-
quisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumai culture
must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in
learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of